

anxa  
87-B  
21982



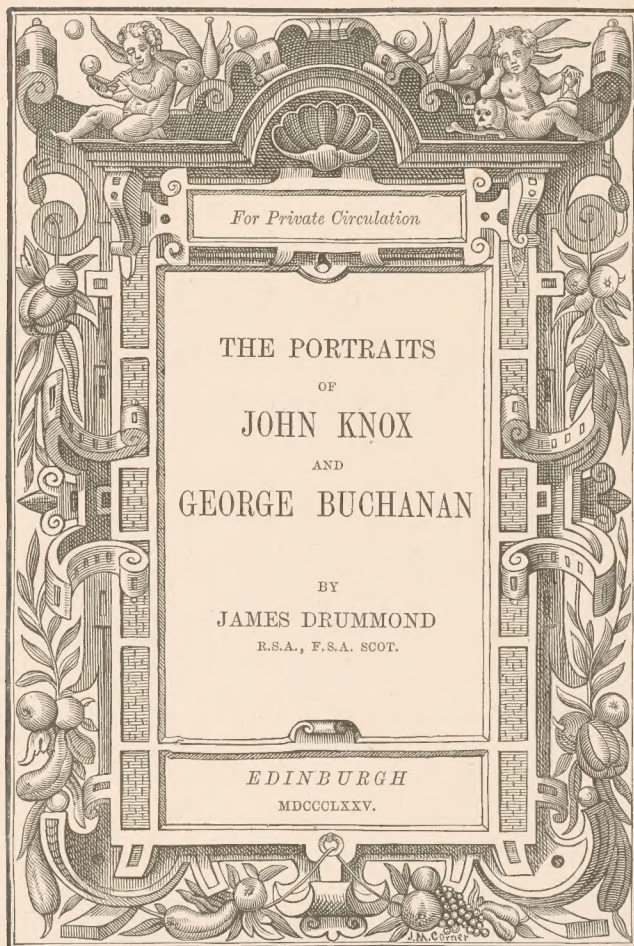
H/6

C2110~~5~~

E. K. Waterhouse









TO

DAVID LAING, Esq., LL.D.,

Editor of

*The Works of the Scottish Reformer,*

*this trifle is inscribed by his friend,*

THE AUTHOR.

*From the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society,  
10th May 1875.*

( 38 )

FIFTY COPIES, PRINTED ON LARGE PAPER, CONTAINING ADDITIONAL  
PORTRAITS AND NOTES.

*To the  
Rev. Dr. George Cooke*

*Moderator of the General Assembly*

*With the best regards*

*Jas Drummond*

*29<sup>th</sup> May 1876.*





SOME months ago I had presented to me a photograph from an engraved portrait of John Knox called the Somerville picture, which first appeared in the 6th volume of "Knight's Gallery of Portraits," in 1836. The editor ventures no remarks upon this picture, and I have no doubt, had it not been in the possession of a nobleman, which unfortunately is too often looked upon as a sort of guarantee for authenticity, no one would ever have thought of engraving it as our great Scottish Reformer. Below the impression from which this had been taken, there had been written—

*"John Knox."*

*[The one Portrait I ever believed to be a likeness  
of Knox. — G. Carlyle, Feb 1874.]*

Lodge's portrait of John Knox is another illustration of the same sort, in which a mathematician, compasses in hand, although in this case, a good and an old picture, is engraved as the Reformer, the only authority being the fact, that it is at Holyrood Palace where it is so-called. Thinking the above writing a mere expression of opinion on the part of Mr Carlyle as to what his ideal of Knox was, and sent to some friend, I thought no more of it, having, in common with every person who had paid attention to such matters, always looked upon this picture as one of the many spurious portraits of historical characters so common, I am sorry to say, in the houses of our Scottish families, who seem to think it essential to possess representations of Sir William Wallace, or Robert Bruce, Queen Mary, George Buchanan, John Knox, or others—all of which become genuine after a little of the smoke and dust of time have accumulated upon them, and are then pointed to as so many links in the various phases of family history. But it is not only with portraits that this misleading takes place

from their being in royal and noble residences, for was there not shown at Holyrood a pair of jack boots and armour to match, of the time of William III., as having belonged to Darnley; and somewhere else there, an old chair as having belonged to John Knox, which, it turned out, had been brought from Craignethan Castle, and accidentally taken to Holyrood, not many years before, with no such history? while a common Cromwell head-piece and two-handed sword of about the same period, are shown at a nobleman's house as having belonged to Robert Bruce. But it would be endless enlarging on this subject; it is only to be hoped, that as some attention is paid to such matters now-a-days, this sort of thing will cease. A Queen Mary, a John Knox, or perhaps some family portrait or relic being wanted, they were sure to cast up shortly, just as we have had within the last few years in Edinburgh, relics of various kinds of Queen Mary and others, in silver, ivory, and other materials, appearing periodically, with a sort of mystery attached to them; there being a demand, the supply came. Sometimes it is amusing to be told in all seriousness, while standing before a most unmistakable manufacture, that of the genuineness of this portrait there can be no doubt, having been in the family for so many generations. One such came under my notice lately, a bad copy of the Hondius portrait, the very unfaithfulness of it being used as an argument in favour of its being an original, as in some respects being different from Beza and Hondius. In this case he was represented with a long white beard, but it was quite a modern performance; yet the possession of this was mentioned as a sort of proof of lineal descent from John Knox, it having been in the family from an early period. The age of the picture and the direct descent, however, were equally imaginary, seeing that both of his sons died childless.

But let us return to the Carlyle ideal of John Knox, as we must now call it. That Mr Carlyle on first seeing it should express an opinion that this was the one portrait of John Knox he could believe in, or, in other words, that the one given by Beza did not satisfy his mind, but this somehow did, as his ideal of the great Reformer, no one could find fault with. But when he wishes, as he does in "*Fraser's Magazine*," and since that, in his work, "*The Early Kings of Norway: also an Essay on the Portraits of John Knox*," to substantiate this myth as an historical reality in place of the portrait by Vaensoun,\* which was

\* Plate 1.



THE BEZA PORTRAIT OF JOHN KNOX.





sent by King James VI. along with his own portrait, and both of which were cut on wood for Beza's *Icones*, published at Geneva in 1580, it is too much. Moreover, the payment for these "twa pictures" is duly entered in the treasurer's accounts, June 1581, and the notion that this date being a year after the publication must have been for other two portraits is too far-fetched, and only suggested to help him in his difficulty. There is no ground for such an idea, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the portraits in Beza are those sent by James and duly paid for in 1581, *that being the date of payment*, not the time when they were done; and it is satisfactory for us to know that payment was made so soon, as our Scottish Solomon was at no time the readiest of paymasters. Perhaps it was not from want of will altogether on his part, but from the lowness of his exchequer, which with His Majesty must sometimes have been at a very low ebb. Indeed, plate was so scarce at Holyrood Palace, that when sending an invitation to his "Right traist friend," Sir Walter Dundas of Dundas, to be present on the occasion of the baptism of his eldest son, Prince Henry, on the 30th August 1594, His Majesty requests, among other things, that he will bring "his silver spoons," and at the same time borrows from him a pair of silken hose that he might appear decently apparelled before the foreign ambassadors. Unfortunately this very curious letter disappeared about 1735, but another has been preserved, also written in the king's own hand, inviting the same laird to be present at the baptism of Prince Charles in December 1600. As the letter is an admirable illustration of the homely and quaint style of correspondence between King James and a subject, it is given in full.

*Letter of James VI. to Sir Walter Dundas.*

"Right traist freind we greet you heartilie well. The baptisme of our dearest sone being appointed at Halyruid House upon the xxij. day of December instant Quereat sum Princes of France Strangeres with the speciales of our nobilitie being invyted to be present necessar it is that great provision of guid cheer and sic uther things necess' for Decorations yrof be provydit Qlks cannot be had without the help of sum of oure loving subjects q'of accompting you one of the speciales we have thought guid to request you effectuously to ppyne us with vennysons wyld meit Brissel foulis; caponis with sic uther provisions as is maist seasonable at that tyme and careed to be sent into Halyruid House upon the xx day of

the said month of December instant and herewithall to invyte you to be present at the solempnitie to take part of your awin gude cheer as you tender our honour and the honour of the country swa we commit you to God from Linlithgow this vj of Decemb<sup>r</sup> 1600.

JAMES R."

The Earl of Gowrie and his brother knowing well King James' constant want of money, used this as the most likely, perhaps the only lure, to entice him from the pleasures of the chase, a pastime of which he was passionately fond. Knowing that it would require something very tempting to induce him to forego the sport he was then enjoying at Falkland, Alexander Ruthven whispered to him, as he was mounting his horse, a story of the seizure near St Johnston of a mysteriously muffled-up stranger having in his possession a large pot of gold pieces. This was too much for the king, who, however, swithered what to do, but the story haunted him, and during the chase visions of Spanish gold flitted before him,—

"Come let me clutch thee,  
I have thee not, and yet I see thee still."

Immediately on the chase ending, he rode off with Ruthven, and at so furious a pace, that he was some miles on his way to St Johnston before his courtiers overtook him;—the rest of the story is well known as the Gowrie Conspiracy. That King James, however, could spend lavishly when the opportunity came, was shown by his behaviour when he became king of Great Britain, his thoughtless extravagance keeping him in constant monetary difficulties, and driving him to strange means for raising money.

Mr David Laing says, in his introduction to the Works of Knox, "I was very desirous of obtaining a portrait of the Reformer to accompany this volume. Hitherto, all my inquiries have failed to discover any undoubted original painting." But he has no doubt whatever that the portrait given by Beza is from the picture by Vaensoun, sent to him by King James VI. Mr Carlyle is sorely put to it when he attacks the clerk for ignorance in spelling the artist's name Vaensoun, as no such name, he says, is known in painters' dictionaries, hinting that it should have been Vansomer, for no other reason than that an artist of this name was in England nearly forty years after Knox's death, and who, by the way, never was in Scotland. This is of a piece with his other arguments in



this discussion; because he and his artistic explorers had never heard of Vaensoun, or Fanson, as it is also spelt in the treasurer's accounts, of course it must be some imaginary artist who never was in Scotland. But the clerk was right, and Mr Carlyle is wrong, for Faenzone or Fanzone is to be found in painters' dictionaries, and that a painter of the same name was in Scotland at that time is quite certain, and painted the "two pictures" of King James and John Knox, which were sent to and used by Beza in his book in 1580, the one of John Knox being afterwards used by Verheiden in his "*Praestantium Aliquot Theologorum*," &c., published at the Hague in 1602. Another of the arguments used against the Beza portrait is that in a French translation of the work by Goulart, another portrait was introduced by mistake as Knox, and which, if I am not misinformed, Mr Carlyle was willing to have accepted as Knox, but gave it up on being told by our best living authority that it was William Tyndale. Mr Carlyle is rapturous on "Goulart's accurately conscientious labour which everywhere else reproduces Beza as in a clear mirror." One need not wonder at this, although I have heard doubts of it, as Goulart would no doubt submit his translation to Beza while going through the press; the arranging of the plates and bookbinding, being as a matter of course left to the printer. In this perfect book a more absurd mistake than the above occurs, which could not have happened had Goulart arranged the portraits, one likeness being made to do duty for two different individuals, which it is attempted to justify by their "having a certain vague similarity," so vague, indeed, that the man who made the mistake must have been very blind or very stupid, the more so that the portrait left out is that of Beza's early friend and teacher, Melchior Wolmar, to whom he dedicated his "*Juvenilia*," a volume of poems which was the cause of a good deal of scandal in his younger days. So many mistakes show this translation to have been one of the most carelessly edited books ever published, as far as the illustrations are concerned, and yet it is the only evidence quoted. But the misleading nature of it did not end here, for in a new edition in 1673, the same stupid carelessness as to the portraits is continued—for be it remembered it is a book of portraits rather than biographies—the portrait of Tyndale still figures as Knox, whose real portrait is inserted as Beza, to whom it has no resemblance, and this in Beza's native city Geneva, where every one must have been familiar with his likeness, which with that of Knox had appeared in Verheiden's

beautiful and authentic series of portraits, engraved by Hondius in 1602. It is satisfactory to find that Mr Carlyle has a word of admiration for the portrait of Knox, as engraved on copper by Hondius\* in the Verheiden volume, in which it is one of the grandest and most powerful heads—in fact, I would almost say as much for it in the Beza volume, although to me it always seemed inferior to the other, which, I have no doubt, was engraved by Hondius from the same original, being most likely borrowed from Beza, who was still alive, and who alone could give it. This was the more probable, as Verheiden must have corresponded about Beza's own biography and the portrait to illustrate it. If not from the same painting or drawing, then another must have been procured from Scotland; in either case it is strongly against the idea of another likeness, as twenty-two years after Beza's *Icones* had appeared, its genuineness had not been disputed. The superiority of the one print over the other, as a work of art, is a good illustration of two renderings from the same original—the one by a man of talent such as Hondius, the other by an unknown wood-engraver. Mr Carlyle has a rapturous and eloquent passage as to his ideal of the great Scottish Reformer. "Knox, you can well perceive, in all his writings, and in all his way of life, was emphatically of Scottish build; eminently a national specimen; in fact, what we might denominate the most Scottish of Scots, and to this day typical of all the qualities which belong nationally to the very choicest Scotsmen we have known or have had clear record of: utmost sharpness of discernment and discrimination, courage enough, and, what is still better, no particular consciousness of courage, but a readiness in all simplicity to do and dare whatsoever is commanded by the inward voice of native manhood; on the whole, a beautiful and simple but complete incompatibility with whatever is false in word or conduct; inexorable contempt and detestation of what in modern speech is called *humbug*. Nothing hypocritical, foolish, or untrue can find harbour in this man; a pure, and mainly silent, tenderness of affection is in him; touches of genial humour are not wanting under his severe austerity; an occasional growl of sarcastic indignation against malfeasance, falsity, and stupidity; indeed, secretly an extensive fund of that disposition, kept mainly silent, though inwardly in daily exercise; a most clear-cut, hardy, distinct and effective man; fearing God, and without any other fear." This is surely an admirable word-painting of such

\* Plate 2.



IOANNES CNOXVS, SCOTVS.  
*Scottorum primum te Ecclesia, CNOXE, docentem*  
*Audyt, auspicijs es tque reducta tuis!*  
*Nam te calescis pietas super omnia traxit,*  
*Atque reformata Religionis amor.* *Cum priuill*

THE VERHEIDIN PORTRAIT





a man as Hondius has transmitted to us, but could never in any sense apply to the whimsical-looking and weak individual Mr Carlyle would have us believe in, even although Mr Tait's suggestion were put in force. "Perhaps," says he, writing to Mr Carlyle, "the best way of settling the business, if such a way were practicable, would be the issuing of a decree that the Somerville one is, and must ever henceforth be held to be, the right one, and that all the others be destroyed."

In the *Life of Knox*, London, 1650, the Hondius portrait is used, and in that extraordinary volume, "*Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum*," by D. P. Freherus, published at Nuremburg in 1687, I find that he has used the Beza portrait of Knox, showing again, that up to that time no doubt existed as to the authenticity of this likeness. No amount of mere abuse and attempts at turning it into ridicule will ever take the place of the fact that James VI. sent over two drawings of paintings to Beza which were used in his volume of portraits, and a mere personal opinion, however boldly asserted, can never replace a genuine portrait by a merely fanciful head. Of the style of argument used to enforce this opinion (if argument it can be called), it may be worth while to give a few illustrations. Speaking of the Beza portrait, it is thus set forth—"Surely quite a surprising individual to have kindled all Scotland, within a few years, almost within a few months, into perhaps the noblest flame of sacred human zeal and brave determination to believe only what it found completely believable, and to defy the whole world and the devil at its back, in unsubduable defence of the same. Here is a gentleman seemingly of a quite eupeptic, not to say stolid and thoughtless frame of mind, much at his ease in Zion, and content to take things as they come, if only they will let him sleep in a whole skin, and digest his victuals." Again, "No features of a Scottish man traceable there, nor indeed, you would say, of any man at all; an entirely insipid, expressionless individuality, more like the wooden figure-head of a ship than a living and working man; highly unacceptable to every physiognomic reader and knower of *Johannes Knoxus, Giffordensis Scotus*." At another place he speaks of it as "the boiled figure-head which Beza denominated Knox." Speaking of the Verheiden portrait, it is said—"This of Hondius is nothing other than an improved reproduction of the Old Beza figure-head; the face is turned to the other side, but the features are preserved, so far as adding some air at least of animal life would permit; the costume, care-

fully including the little patch of ruffles under the jaw, is reproduced; and, in brief, the conclusion is that Hondius or Verheiden had no doubt but the Beza portrait, though very dead and boiled-looking, had been essentially alike, and needed only a little kindling up from its boiled condition to be satisfactory to the reader." "The river of beard flowing from it is grander than that in the figure-head, and the book there, with its right-hand reminding you of a tied-up bundle of carrots supporting a kind of loose little volume, are both charitably withdrawn." As to the "bundle of carrots," had Mr Carlyle looked over Beza's book carefully, he would have seen a few more hands of the same kind, clearly showing them as the work of the wood-engraver, and not by the painters of the originals, and consequently we have nothing to do with these shortcomings in judging of the portraits.

To throw discredit on Beza's portrait, he more than insinuates that he never had seen Knox, and therefore could have no idea of his personal appearance. This, like the authenticity of the portrait, has never before been called in question, and the two greatest authorities on this subject, the late Dr M'Crie and Mr David Laing, have no doubt whatever that they must have been personally acquainted. The former, in his *Life of Knox* says, "Knox was known and esteemed by the principal persons among the reformed in France, Switzerland, and Germany. We have had occasion repeatedly to mention his friendship with the reformer of Geneva. Beza, the successor of Calvin, was personally acquainted with him; in the correspondence which was kept up between them by letters, he expressed the warmest regard and highest esteem for him." Pinkerton, again, speaking of this portrait, says, "Beza being the friend of the Reformer could hardly be misled."

It is difficult to understand how it possibly could have been otherwise, at such a time, when meetings of the leaders in the Reformation must have been of very frequent occurrence at Geneva, where Knox had been officiating some years as a preacher, and during which time Beza was a well-known professor of Greek and preacher at Lausanne, which is but a few miles from Geneva, the head-quarters of the Calvinistic Reformation, in which Beza, like Knox, was one of the moving spirits, and of such mark that he succeeded Calvin not only in his church, but as the leader of the party—a position to which he never could have risen had he not been well known in Geneva, both personally and by reputation.



It may be interesting to give two letters from Beza to Knox, as translated by Mr Laing in his *Collected Works of John Knox*, as showing their correspondence to have been that of personal friendship, and not mere business. It seems passing strange that Mr Carlyle does not even allude to these, although giving one of a similar nature to Buchanan from Beza.

*Theodore Beza to John Knox, restorer of the Gospel among the Scots,  
his venerable brother and fellow-minister.*

"Grace and peace, my Brother, I wish to you and all your holy churches from the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom also I continually give thanks, both for his great goodness towards you, and for your singular constancy and fortitude in maintaining his worship. But when that honourable and truly Christian declaration of your Assembly, by which you adopted the Confession of our Churches had been laid before me, some months thereafter I intimated, both to yourself *in private* and to other brethren *by letter*, how agreeable and how pleasant to us all, and especially to the brethren of Zurich was this your union with us in the Lord in all things, which too we trust will be everlasting, and stand firm against the very gates of hell. But, though since that time you have received no letter from me, I would not, my Brother, that you should ascribe it to either contempt or neglect, or even to a press of business, but partly to the want of bearers, of whom, indeed, I had not quite suitable, and partly to the perpetual commotions of these times, from which, although by the special kindness of God the best and greatest this state has as yet been safe, yet, since they are both, as you know, very near us, and chiefly affect those with whom we have necessarily almost all things in common, it is impossible that they should not trouble us also to a grievous extent. But I do not think it necessary to write to you at greater length concerning our affairs, as you can learn them from this countryman of yours, evidently a very good man, much better than from myself. Let me therefore add but this, that through the grace of God we are still in good health, and with perfect unanimity continue in the same position in which you formerly left us. Nay, this small school of ours has now increased so much, that I believe few are better attended. Colladonius and I teach divinity week about; and a third has been added in the person of our Galasius, whom those troubles in France have driven, with almost innumerable

others, into this haven. But two things hinder us from enjoying this solid comfort—one, that our church here increases indeed wonderfully, but it does so out of the ruins of others; the other, that the plague, which afflicted us last year with considerable severity, has a month since begun more or less to revive. Therefore, I earnestly entreat of you and the other brethren, that with us you will beseech of God, our most merciful Father, this also, that forgetting our manifold sins he may chasten us indeed, but not rebuke us in his wrath, but rather, which is almost the sole refuge that remains to so many miserable beings, that he may by his own special goodness preserve us from all evil. As to French affairs, at the moment when I write to you, all are reported to us as prosperous, as you will learn from the bearer of this. For although our friends have received a great blow through the loss of that most illustrious hero the Prince of Condé, yet since that time, the Lord has often so refreshed them, that his death seems to have been, and is likely to be in future, a greater cause of sorrow to our enemies than to them. It is certain, indeed, that besides him very few were slain, but among those there were two justly lamented by the army, Castellier a Frenchman, and Stuard your countryman, a man so far as I can judge, of excellent qualities, both of mind and of body. May the Lord recompense his enemies for this most unworthy slaughter, since both these, as well as the Prince of Condé, were, contrary to the laws of war, most cruelly put to death after they had surrendered. But such is the lot of good men, especially in this ungrateful age. And I have no doubt (for what we hear from your quarter is rather by rumours than from sure information) that every other year may furnish similar examples among yourselves. But alas, my Brother, what a state of matters is this! For although it is by no means new that they who so very pertinaciously reject the doctrine of peace should be vexed by the spirit of discord, yet it is a sad and sorrowful thing that those who, for so many years, have so successfully opposed both Satan and the world by patient endurance only should be forced to defend themselves with the sword. However, provided the Lord leads his own, they shall certainly find that he is the sole arbiter both of war and of peace. But I wish we may not experience how difficult, nay, how almost impossible it is, so to handle those iron weapons as to keep them from hurting one's self. God alone, for whom, to use the words of Paul, we war, can cure this evil as well as others. To him I

render great thanks that he has so often been with you in ways so wonderful, and I trust you will join me in praying for the same favours to our France. But more than enough of so doleful a subject. God grant that I may soon have more and better news.

"There were published last week certain prelections of mine on polygamy, divorces, and separations, which I wish you to read and examine with care where you are. For that purpose, I would willingly have sent you some copies of them, had I not been afraid of burdening this friend of ours, who, however, has promised, under favour of God, to convey at least one copy to you. Moreover the calumnies of certain very troublesome persons compelled me to publish a sort of trifle, of which I send you two copies,—one for yourself, in order that when you also are disposed to trifle, you may seriously remember your Beza; the other for Mr Buchanan, who, I hope is with you and well, and to whom I send my regards as those of an old friend. Our whole Assembly salute you and all your colleagues much in the Lord, the common author and defender of this our union. I especially pray you, my Brother, that you will continually remember in your prayers me, a most miserable sinner and useless insignificant man, on whom God has laid such a burden, that I may one day stand in some manner without blame before his judgment seat; and Him in return I ask to support, by his holy and powerful Spirit, yourself and that illustrious deliverer of yours, so often wonderfully preserved to you, whom I salute with all humility. Nor do I ask this of you alone, my Brother, but also earnestly entreat it of your whole Assembly of most excellent and learned men, whom all may the Lord Jesus most effectually preserve, defend, and guard, to the glory of his name, and the sure and solid edification of all the churches, to which you are indeed a singular example. Farewell.

"GENEVA, 3d of June 1569."

*Theodore Beza to John Knox, his very dear Brother and Fellow Minister.*

"Although, my Knox, we are in body separated by so great a distance both of land and sea, yet I have not the least doubt that there has always existed, and that there will exist to the last between us that complete union of mind which is confirmed by the bond of one and the same spirit and faith. And truly I believe that this Church of Geneva especially is



often in your thoughts, as we, in our turn, have you in continual remembrance before God, which most holy reciprocity of spirit almost solely sustains me, and you also where you are, as I think, amidst so great a confusion of human affairs; for, albeit they whose citizenship is in heaven, ought to have their whole dependence on heaven as those who, being in the body, are absent from the Lord, yet in mind sit together in heavenly places, still there is no reason why, however weak and ineffectual are those things which have the appearance of some strength and firmness, we should not contemplate heaven as it were situated on earth, the goodness, namely, of God (as seen) in his own people. From the surest proofs, I infer that the Scottish churches are such, that the numerous and severe and continuous attacks of Satan, the like of which I believe no nation has hitherto borne within so few years, have not succeeded in corrupting among them the purity of doctrine, or in changing the rule of strict discipline neglected by so many nations. Blessed be the Lord our God, who has gifted thee, my brother, as placed at the helm, and others as rowers and under-rowers, with such constancy and courage. It is a great gift of God, that you carried together into Scotland both pure religion and good order, the bond by which doctrine is secured. I beseech and implore you, that ye so keep these two together, that you may always remember, that when one is lost the other cannot long endure. This, certainly, both the very nature of things (for who would expect that laws could be rightly observed except by appointing guardians and executors of them?) And also experience itself, the teacher even of fools, teaches us by the example of those nations, to whom chiefly through this error, which the people will not allow to be corrected, it is certain, that at this day the gospel is proclaimed in judgment rather than in mercy (I except a very few of the elect of God). But of this also, my Knox, which is now almost patent to our very eyes, I would remind yourself and the other brethren, that as Bishops brought forth the Papacy, so will false Bishops (the relicts of Popery) bring in Epicurism into the world. Let those who devise the safety of the Church avoid pestilence, and when, in process of time, you shall have subdued that plague in Scotland, do not, I pray you, ever admit it again, however it may flatter by the pretence of preserving unity, which deceived many of the best of those of former times. As to our own affairs, while you in your country are occupied with tragedies



*Scotorum primum Te Ecclesia CNOXE, docentem  
Audijt. auspicijs estq, reducta tuis.*

*a a 4*

FROM BOISSARD





such as the whole of Greece never acted in its theatres, we meantime have for six whole years been struggling with the plague, nor have we yet finished the conflict, which truly has destroyed no fewer than twelve thousand persons in this, as you know, rather small town. Although, however, both evils are sent by God to chastise us for our sins, yet we know what a difference that most wise and most experienced prophet David, when bidden to choose his punishment, judged to exist between our chastisement and yours. Your struggle, therefore, was even harder than ours. But blessed be the Lord, who has so tried us in this furnace, that he has consumed neither; and may he grant, that by such chastisement we may at length be made wiser. Our city, indeed, is not as you saw it. The benches of our school, formerly not quite full, are now quite empty. One or another also of ourselves, has severely tried us; but we are still through the grace of God, alive, and, since that vital heat, namely, that same doctrine, good order and harmony between all ranks, which you observed when here, continues unabated, we doubt not that all the members having at length recovered their vigour, the whole body will be restored to health. Help us, then, by your prayers to God, as we also in our turn bear you upon our heart, and have been accustomed day and night perseveringly to pray for the state of the kingdom of Scotland, and the welfare of all good men. We will, however, be glad if, as often as possible you advertise us of your affairs. We shall do the same to you much more diligently than ever before, seeing that peace in France seems to have opened to us a way for that purpose, though separated by so great a distance. Farewell, excellent man and brother much to be esteemed. Let all our very dear and much-to-be-loved brethren and fellow-ministers, and all who love our Christ in sincerity, be saluted along with you both in my name, and in the name of all our colleagues.

"GENEVA, 12th of April 1572."

Boissard's work (1597-1669), the 4th edition of which, "*Bibliotheca Chalcographica*," printed at Frankfort, 1650, has a portrait of Knox,\* a front face with the long beard, though hardly of the length in the Beza portrait; this has been done from an indifferent picture, but evidently the same person as given by Beza and Verheiden, having just the little differ

\* Plate 8.

ences which two artists would give to the same head. In illustration of this, many must remember the portraits of Sir Walter Scott in the Centenary Exhibition three years ago, and of the variety of expression and treatment among these, by above twenty different artists, each of whom had worked out his own ideal of the character of the Great Unknown, so different, and yet how like. In 1732, another portrait of Knox for the first time appears in the "History of the Reformation," published at Edinburgh. He is in a close-fitting cap and long white beard, and is engraved by R. Cooper, the master of Sir Robert Strange; but no artist's name is given. And here we enter upon the period of manufacture.

Amongst such I am afraid we must include the portrait of Knox hanging in the Museum of the University of Glasgow, one of a series of made-up portraits there, among which are those of Patrick Hamilton, Wishart, and others. It is a profile, evidently suggested by the Beza or Hondius portraits, and was engraved in 1799 for Pinkerton's Gallery of Scottish Portraits.

I will now say a few words about this Somerville portrait of Knox. When do we first hear of it? It is supposed—for all about this picture is mere conjecture—that it was bought about 1760; but whether it was acquired by Lord Somerville as a portrait of the Reformer, or was merely his ideal (or, perhaps, his or some future housekeeper's), and consequently so called, nobody can now tell; that is all we know of its history, and some people may think all that is worth knowing of it, so far as being a portrait of John Knox is concerned. One thing is clear, that nobody seems to have heard of this portrait until it was brought into notice by being engraved for Knight's "Gallery of Portraits" in 1836. Certainly it was not known as a portrait of Knox in 1797, or at all events not believed in by the Somerville family at that time, if then in their possession. Sir William Musgrave, an English collector of engraved portraits, whose manuscript collections and letters are now in the British Museum, appears to have applied to and obtained from most of the principal families in England and Scotland, lists of portraits in their possession. Among others he applied to Lord Somerville, who sent him a list of historical and family portraits belonging to the family, in his house or houses near Edinburgh. In this catalogue we find the names of such pictures, both ancient and modern, but among them there is no mention of one of John Knox, although the list seems very complete. Had there been a portrait, even called that of John

Knox, at Drum or any other house belonging to Lord Somerville, it was not likely to have remained unnoticed at such a period, when Pinkerton had been for years collecting materials for his two volumes of Scottish historical portraits, and Smith, the Earl of Buchan, and others industriously hunting in the same field. However, let us suppose that it was added to the Somerville collection in 1760, the period was in one sense an unfortunate one, when Walpole's example had initiated the fashion of collecting articles of vertu, in fact, anything queer or out of the way, without what we now call archaeological or historical reference. Lord Somerville, like his contemporary, the Earl of Buchan, seems to have been a collector, and, among other things, managed to get hold of the old City Cross of Edinburgh, which he had erected in front of his new house at Drum, in which one of the greatest curiosities must have been his Lordship's portrait of the Scottish Reformer. It was a time also rife in the manufacture of historical portraits, and we can imagine the old Lord wandering from his own apartments in Holyrood to the great gallery of the Palace, with its 120 portraits of kings, beginning 330 years before Christ, and ending with his own royal master, George II., who died in 1760—fit place for inspiration as to the value of authentic portraiture—and as he paced it in the quietness of a summer evening, on even to the gloaming, when the stern old kings, who had been glowering down upon him, and some of whom his forefathers had entertained right royally at Cowthally, gradually faded into dreamy shadows, like the phantom kings of Macbeth; and then returning to his own quarters, pondering as he went on the necessity of a picture gallery at his house of Drum, then in course of erection. There was a John Knox at Holyrood, and why not at Drum; and so it came, and no doubt many others, as the necessary furnishing for the house of a lord of ancient lineage. The manufacture of portraits must have been a lively and no doubt a profitable one, and if we did not know something of this, we would be surprised where all the portraits of John Knox, Queen Mary, and others come from, which every now and then are cropping up at sales in Edinburgh and elsewhere. Among the most prolific and best known of these producers of old portraits was John Medina, who was a grandson of Sir John Medina, a well-known portrait painter in his day. He for a long series of years carried on an extensive practice of this sort, and died at Edinburgh in 1796. His speciality, however, seems to have been Queen



Mary, his model for which he found among the royal portraits in the gallery at Holyrood. This school of manufacture was continued into this century; and I was informed by the late Mr David Roberts, R.A., that when a boy he was frequently sent messages by his master to an artist called Robertson, who lived by doing portraits of Queen Mary, Prince Charles, and such like, the first of which he varied by a red or black dress; sometimes a veil was thrown over the head, or a crucifix put into the hand, and if required a crown was introduced somewhere or other, a favourite inscription on the back being, "From the original in the King of France's closet," unless it was to be an original! into which it was easily converted by a little judicious smoking and varnishing. Perhaps no portrait has been more misrepresented than that of Queen Mary. Every pretty face, aye sometimes anything but pretty, with a head-dress of the period, seems at one time to have been dubbed Queen Mary, and even lately one was startled by seeing an engraving from a picture, in a quarter where more care and judgment should have been exercised—in this case without even the conventional headdress, or any portion of costume of the period, but with some likeness to portraits of Maria Clementina, the wife of the Chevalier St George, and mother of Prince Charles Edward and the Cardinal York. But dealing tricks took another form,—that of altering the name of a portrait, and passing it off as genuine. Such is the case with a portrait of the second Marquis of Huntly, who was beheaded in 1649. This was originally the portrait of a Flemish gentleman. Another of a different kind may be mentioned, in the portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, which was painted by Davidde and engraved by Edelinck. When the copperplate of this had got worn down and useless, it would appear to have fallen into the hands of some dealer, who, to make a new print of it, had employed an engraver to put on the head a Highland bonnet with a cockade, which is exactly copied from Strange's beautiful print. This plate, from its wretched condition, should be destroyed, for it would still appear to be in the possession of some person who is printing from it, to the serious detriment of Edelinck's good name as an engraver, seeing that I lately picked up a copy, quite a new impression, which is only worth preserving for comparison with a good print in its original state. I was lately told a curious story by a copperplate printer, about



JOHN HENRY HENRY, 1811-1881

1811-1881





the fate of a valuable engraved plate. The late Mr Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe had a copperplate of Prince Charles, engraved by Strange, from which, for some purpose, he wished a few impressions. After a long search it was found in his housekeeper's room, in beautifully bright condition. Mr Sharpe, as was his wont, took it himself in a small portfolio to my informant, who, although surprised at the brilliant look of the plate, did as he was ordered, but to Mr Sharpe's horror it came up an indistinct blurr. It turned out that the housekeeper, finding it lying about, had taken it into her own room as an ornament, and had been in the habit of polishing it bright with the other garnishments of her mantelpiece. What a pity that some orderly domestic had not applied her polishing paste to the now bonneted Prince Charlie above mentioned, and thus have prevented it now being printed! But the most amusing story of this kind is of a portrait of George IV. in mezzotinto, after Raeburn, to whom, it may be mentioned, the king never gave sittings. The publisher of his had brought out many portraits after Raeburn, and thinking that a portrait of his Majesty would be a good speculation on the occasion of his visit to Scotland in 1822, looked over his stock of copperplates, and selected that of the courtly Professor Hope, who is represented sitting in a rather dignified sort of way. This he sent to an engraver and had the head polished out, that of the king engraved in its place, on the breast a star, but the plate was altered in no other respect, the result being a right royal looking portrait of the first gentleman in Europe.

While writing, I have before me a copy of the Somerville portrait,\* and from the conscientious way in which it is painted, I have no doubt an excellent one, done from the original a number of years ago, very likely before it was lined, at which time it seems to have been tampered with, at least so says Mr Robert Tait, who hunted up information about this portrait from the art point of view. He seems also to have formed a low estimate of it as a picture, which is now so much cracked, that in a photograph from it, sent me, the features are almost invisible; so I have preferred getting a plate done from this copy, by one of the new photographic processes, which, no doubt, will give a truer representation of the original, than Holl's engraving for Knight's Gallery of Portraits, which Mr Tait says, "conveys a higher impression than the picture itself does, the

\* Plate 4.

features being finer in form, and more firmly defined." There can be no doubt that the collar to which he calls special attention is a most suspicious article of dress, proving that the picture cannot, even if genuine, be at the earliest, older than Cromwell's time, if that. Mr Tait says this does not invalidate the portrait, as white collars or bands of various shapes and sizes were in use in Knox's time, and are to be found in the portraits, and frequently referred to in the literature of Elizabeth's reign. As to the falling bands of that period to which he alludes, we know of these quite well, but they bear no resemblance to this, not being collars at all. I should not like to assert that collars such as this were not then worn, but somehow I have entirely failed in finding even one specimen, after having looked over hundreds of portraits of the period. It is desirable that Mr Tait should enlighten us on this subject, on which he writes so confidently, but they must be genuine portraits, about which there can be no cavil, and with collars like this in size and shape; till then I must remain a sceptic.

To make sure of the correctness of this copy, now in my own possession, I wrote to Mr Scharf, Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, London, to ask if he could procure for me a tracing from the original Somerville portrait, which I understood was still somewhere in London. Fortunately he had such a tracing, and very kindly sent me a copy of it. On applying this, I find the copy a just and faithful one; the only difference being in the collar, which may be a shade deeper.

In a letter which I received from Mr Tait after a notice of this paper appeared, he says—"I have read over your paper with much interest, and agree with most of it, but had you known more fully my opinions about collars or falling bands and other things you would have been less critical of them than you are. In December last I wrote at the request of Mr Carlyle a short monograph on the portraits of Knox, as favourable to the Somerville one as I could make it, but which yet cut the ground from under it almost everywhere; and I was a good deal annoyed to find that he picked out only some little bits that suited his purpose." Had I known Mr Tait's opinion as expressed in his letter, my remarks would certainly have been different, but no one reading Mr Carlyle's outburst could have come to any other conclusion than that he concurred in the opinion, that the Somerville picture was a genuine portrait of John Knox. At the same time he says, "that the Lord

Somerville who put it up in his house as a portrait of Knox, had, or considered he had, satisfactory reason for calling it such." I suppose just such reason as others had for believing in the authenticity of pseudo portraits of Wallace, Bruce, and the like. I am glad to think that Mr Tait repudiates the notion of this being a portrait of the Scottish Reformer, and quite sympathise with him in the treatment he received in the use made of his notes, "which conveyed a very imperfect and even misleading impression of what he had written."

Mr Tait thus refers to his authorities for the dress of the Somerville portrait:—"Some persons have said that the dress, especially the collar or falling band, belongs to a later age than that of Knox, and is sufficient to invalidate the portrait; but this is not the case, for white collars or bands, of various shapes and sizes, were in use in Knox's time. In 1543 it was recorded of George Wishart, who was put to death at St Andrews in 1546, and of whom Knox had been a disciple, that he wore 'white falling bands' (see letter from Emery Tylney in Fox's 'Book of Martyrs'); they are found in the portraits and frequently alluded to in the literature of Elizabeth's reign; and the collar on the portrait of Simon Forman, who was born in 1552, and died in 1611, is more like that in the Somerville picture than any other that has been found of later date. Yet it is probably true that collars or bands near the size of that in the Somerville picture were more commonly worn, not so much by clergy as by lawyers and other laymen, about the time of the Restoration (a hundred years after Knox's time) than at any earlier or later date." As to this portrait of Simon Forman, which is adduced as authority for large collars of the time of Elizabeth, I can scarcely think Mr Tait earnest in bringing it forward, seeing it is quite as spurious-looking, if not more so, than the Somerville picture. However, let us suppose the possibility of its being genuine, and where does it land us? That this style of collar was worn by astrologers, which might be confirmed by another not unlike it, worn by Lily's Master "John Evans, the ill-favoured astrologer of Wales," and of the same period, both of which are figured in the "Antiquarian Repository" (1775-84). This would certainly throw a new light on the Somerville portrait, and account for the way he holds the book. But this Simon Forman having been an astrologer and not an ecclesiastic, any dress such a person might really have worn would be altogether useless in such



a discussion. As to "the white falling bands" worn by Wishart at his execution at St Andrews, and mentioned in Tylney's letter, these were simply the 'bendes,' ribbons, or tassels for tying the collar, so often seen in portraits of the Holbein period, and oddly enough represented on the contemporary portrait of this martyr, in the possession of the Wishart family. In the allusion to John Knox's marriage (afterwards), mention is made of such "bendes of taffetie feschnit with golden rings and precious stones." In that wonderful repertory of historic portraits of illustrious men of all nations by Freherus, the first 772 pages of this folio volume are devoted to theologians from the fourteenth century till about 1670, and illustrated by 495 engraved portraits from the best authorities. There is not one collar of the formidable size of the so-called Knox portrait among them. The nearest in shape, but only half the size, is of the date 1670; among the hundreds about Knox's time not one. The second part of the volume is devoted to laymen, from emperors downwards, divided into sections, and comprising above 800 portraits. In one of these a few are found of nearly the same size, but of more defined shape. These range from 1650 to 1670, and are worn by lawyers.

We find a rather curious piece of evidence as to Knox's personal appearance, in an unexpected quarter, in a book by Henry Foulis, published at Oxford, "*The History of the Wicked Plots and Conspiracies of Our Pretended Saints, with the Hypocracies and Villifying Humours of Some Presbyterians, &c. (1662-1674.)*" "John Knox" he calls "the Father of the Scotch Presbytery, and a great assistant to these in England. This man had so got the knack of villifying that his tongue could be no slander." Under the year 1572 he says—"In this year did John Knox dye at Edinburgh (November 27), one that (as I am apt to believe, all things considered,) gained more esteem amongst the people by the reverence of his long beard, reaching down to his middle, than any real wisdom or discretion that could be appropriated to him." But it was not only in England that his success was attributed to sinister causes, as Nicol Burne tells us, that on the occasion of bringing home his second wife, a daughter of Lord Ochiltree, he appeared "rydand with ane gret court on ane trim gelding, nocht lyk ane prophet, or ane auld decrepit priest, as he was, bot lyk as he had been ane of the blude royal, with his bendes of taffetie feschnit with golden ringis and precious stanes; and as is planelie



*Scotia si Vatem hunc gelidam produxit ad arcton,  
Credo equidem gelidæ percaluere poli.*

[FROM BOISSARD]



reportit in the country, by sorcerie and witchcraft, did sua allure that puir gentlewoman that sche could not leve without him." But whether the glamour was from "the river of beard" is not said.

We now come to the George Buchanan notion of Mr Boehm the sculptor, who with Mr Tait was employed to gain information and give his opinion as to the merits of this Somerville picture. His theory that this picture is an enlarged copy from a portrait by Porbus, because there happens to be a picture by that artist said to be George Buchanan, is a mere vague and uncertain speculation, for which there is not a shadow of authority. The first inquiry should have been as to the authenticity of that picture as a portrait of Buchanan. It was engraved by E. Scriven in 1836 for Mr Charles Knight from a picture belonging to the Royal Society; but being in that collection is no proof that it is a portrait of George Buchanan. Fortunately an indisputable test is in existence by which to try portraits of George Buchanan, his skull being preserved in the Museum of the University of Edinburgh, a valued treasure. There is also a portrait which has been there probably from the foundation of the University by James VI. This picture is unfortunately in bad state of preservation, but the likeness is intact. Again there is a most characteristic engraved portrait\* in the "*Icones Virorum Illustrum*," &c., 4 vols. 1597-99, by his contemporary, J. J. Boissard. This portrait is also used by Freherus in 1687. Some forty years ago Sir William Hamilton compared various portraits of Buchanan by measurement with the skull, and these two only stood the test. The head in both is thoroughly Scottish in character, with a long and well-formed nose, well-defined cheek bones, and a long upper lip as in the skull. At the same time there is no denying a certain vague resemblance between the Royal Society portrait and that of Boissard; for although the head is rounder and the nose shorter, yet the mouth, which is very peculiar, has much the same character. Mr Boehm tells us that he saw many Porbus portraits with white collars. Was there one the same as this in form and size? If so, where are they, and who are they? For argument's sake, they must be the same.

Of the Porbus portrait of Buchanan there are a number of versions; one of these, very much resembling the Royal Society's, picture was en-

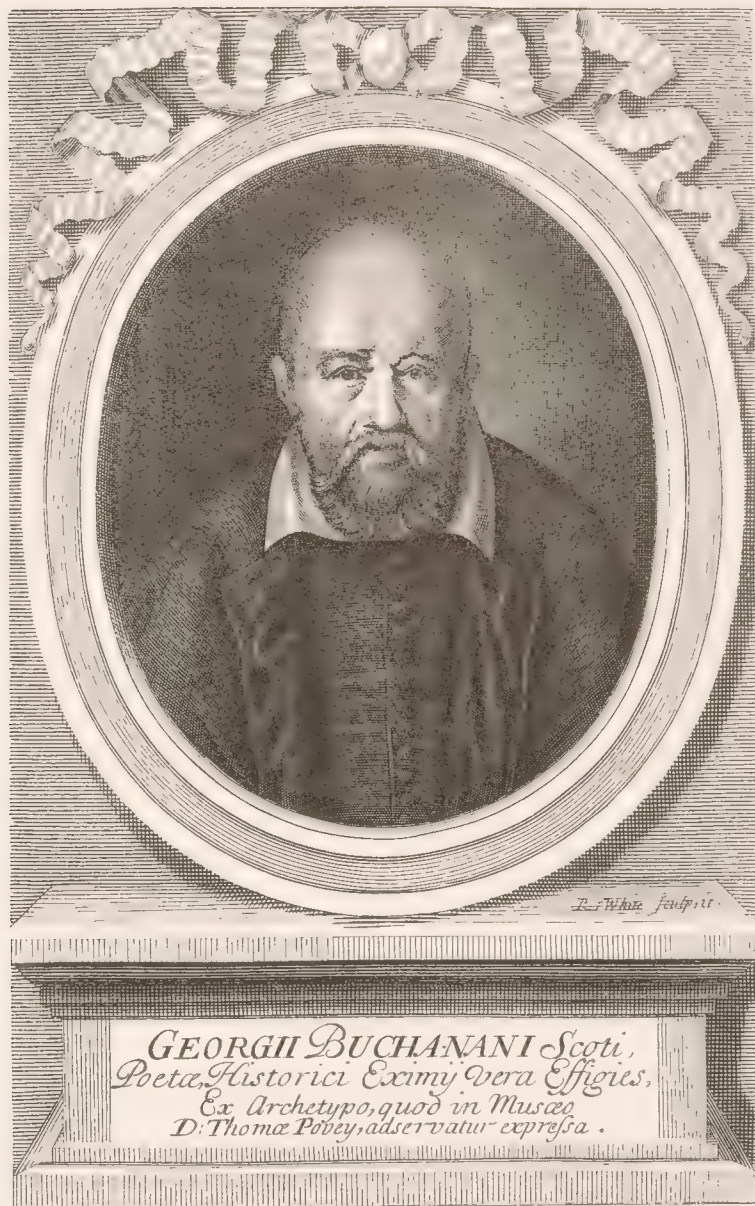
\* Plate 6.



graved by R. White for Buchanan's "History of Scotland" in 1690, and was then the property of Dr Povey; although the dress is a little different, and the face revised, it looks as if done from the same picture.\* An edition of Buchanan's poems was printed by Elzevir at Leyden 1628, having a small front view of the head in an oval frame, supported by cupids; and another edition of the poems appeared at Amsterdam in 1676, also by Elzevir. The same portrait is again used, supported on a pedestal, angels in the clouds crowning him with laurels, and a pegasus galloping over a distant mountain. By the side of the pedestal are some nude figures, and below some satyrs with musical instruments. Both of these are on a very small scale, but agree more with the Boissard head in proportion, as does another in Ruddiman's edition of "Buchanan's Works," Edinburgh, 1715. The frontispiece is an elaborate composition, designed and engraved by Vander Gucht, the bust being raised on a pedestal, while a cupid flying past is placing a wreath, which is announced by Fame who is blowing her trumpet. In the middle of the group is Time, scythe in hand; at one side an Eastern turbaned female figure playing on a harp and singing, with a cupid leaning over an open book lying on her knee, his hand raised as if keeping time; at the opposite side is a classical figure representing History, a book on her knee, and her right raised holding a pen. Then, in 1741, Houbraken engraved a front face from a picture in the possession of Dr Mead; it is very like the last three, and like them having some hair on his head, but the height of the forehead is rather exaggerated.

The primary object of writing this paper having been to prove that the Beza and Hondius portraits of John Knox were authentic likenesses, I did not take up the point as to the probability of Knox having sat for his portrait to Porbus, because Buchanan may have done so, considering the idea of such a portrait as the Somerville one being a copy from a portrait of Knox by Porbus or any other person as too absurd. It was my intention, however, to have extended my notes in this direction before printing the paper, but Mr Tait has gone into this matter so thoroughly, and his remarks on the probability of Porbus having painted a portrait of George Buchanan, and the impossibility of his having painted John Knox, being so much to the point, I will quote the whole passage as it appeared in the *Scotsman*. I take the liberty of doing this, and hope Mr

\* Plate 7.



GEORGII BUCHANANI Scoti,  
Poetae Historici Eximij vera Effigies,  
Ex Archetypo, quod in Museo  
D: Thomae Povey, adservatur expressa.

(AFTER PORBUS)



Tait will excuse me for so doing, considering the scant justice he received at the hands of his friend, after all his research. In the first place, his remarks are a complete answer to Mr Carlyle, who says—"Among scrutinisers here, it was early recollected that there hung in the Royal Society's room an excellent portrait of Buchanan, undisputedly painted by Francis Porbus; that Knox and Buchanan were children of the same year (1505), and that both the portrait of Buchanan and that of Knox indicated for the sitter an age of about sixty or more. So that our preliminary doubt, Was there in Scotland, about 1565, an artist capable of such a portrait as this of Knox? was completely abolished; and the natural inquiry arose, Can any traces of affinity between these two be discovered? In the second place, it is a complete refutation of Mr Boehm, who, Mr Carlyle says, "found in this Buchanan perceptible traces of kinship with the Knox [Somerville] portrait." His words are—"The Somerville picture at first reminded me more of Porbus than of any painter of that time, although I did not then know whether Porbus had ever been in England, as, judging by the fact that he painted Knox's contemporary, George Buchanan, we may now fairly suppose was the case." And in the same letter, speaking of the qualities of Porbus' work, "which are, it seems to me, clearly discerned in this copy, done by a free and swift hand, careful only to reproduce the likeness and general effect, and had less of the delicate and refined touch of the great master." I am glad that Mr Boehm is pleased, for it is always satisfactory to come to a decided conclusion, more so perhaps when a sketch of imagination is requisite to do so. But it will be more to our purpose to hear what Mr Tait says on the subject.

"As the idea that the Somerville picture might have been copied from an original picture by Porbus, I believe I was the first in connection with this inquiry to remember and to go and see the Porbus portrait of Buchanan in the rooms of the Royal Society here, but said all along I had a complete conviction it was a delusion to think to establish any resemblance between the style or treatment of Porbus' pictures and that of the Somerville Knox. The idea received little or no countenance from the distinguished artists who examined the picture; indeed, only one, and he a sculptor (the Mr Boehm mentioned in *Fraser*), gave it any support whatever; and he appears to have gone in rather a headlong manner in support of it, much to Mr Carlyle's gratification at the time. Yet on due



investigation it becomes quite clear that it would be perfectly fatal to the Somerville picture, as a likeness of Knox, to succeed in proving, as Mr Carlyle was so anxious to do, that it was probably a copy from a picture by Porbus; for if anything in historical biography is certain, it is certain that Francis Porbus, 'the elder,' who was born in 1540, and died when just forty years old, never was in any part of our island; and also certain that Knox, after he was fifty-five years of age, never was out of our island; it was therefore *impossible* that Knox, after he was sixty, could have been painted by Porbus; and the Somerville picture certainly indicates—as is stated in *Fraser*—'for the sitter an age of about sixty or more.' It was never hinted by any one, before the first day of April in the present year, when Mr Carlyle's article appeared in *Fraser*, that this Porbus (or, indeed, any of the others of the name) had ever been in our country. D'Argenville, Descamps, Pilkington, Bryan, Stanley, Sirot (1855), all give some account of him, but not one of them affords the slightest opening for even imagining such a thing. On the contrary, D'Argenville distinctly says—'Il ne sortit jamais de son pays.' The year 1565 is mentioned in *Fraser* as the time about which the portrait of George Buchanan above alluded to must have been painted, and the time about which Porbus must have been in Scotland to do it; but it happens rather curiously, that in that very year Porbus was thinking seriously of a visit to Italy, 'to study the works of the great men,' some of whom were still alive, and others of them only recently dead—'après avoir été reçu membre de l'Académie d'Anvers en 1564' (when just twenty-four years of age), 'il se disposait à se rendre en Italie;' but, instead of going there, he decided to stay at home and to marry, which he did not long after, his second wife; and therefore, 'not to speak it profanely,' could not have come to Scotland to paint the portrait of Buchanan—'Il se maria pour la seconde fois en 1566, lors qu'il se préparait au voyage d'Italie' (D'Argenville, ii. 248).

"Burns says, 'Facts are chieles that winna ding,' and therefore, unless it is to be supposed that in these latter days, 'nous avons changé tout cela,' it follows that the fine Porbus portrait of Buchanan, which belongs to the Royal Society of London, must have been painted during one of Buchanan's visits to the Continent, where, at different times and at various places, many of the best years of his life were spent. Dr Irving, in his 'Life of Buchanan' (Edinburgh, 1807), gives some account, at

page 208, of a visit Buchanan was said to have made to the Continent in '1565 or 1566,' and Ruddiman in his 'Antierisis' (1745), says—'I have heard it related an hundred times that Buchanan, when Principal of St Leonard's College at St Andrews, did make such a voyage to France;' and he would then have attained to just the sixty years of age which this portrait of him is supposed to indicate."

Mr Carlyle is not the first person who has taken it into his head that he infallibly knew what a historic character should have been like, in spite of all contemporary authority. David, eleventh Earl of Buchan, considered himself a great authority in all matters of art or antiquity, and had got together an extraordinary collection of historical portraits, good, bad, and indifferent—his great discovery being a genuine portrait of George Buchanan, hitherto unknown, and by Titian. The contemporary portraits of Boissard and in the University of Edinburgh were not his ideal, but now he had secured and saved it. This he managed to get engraved by Woolnoth for Tulloch's London Philosophical Magazine in 1809, and calling with an impression to astonish a friend, who at the time was sitting in his library, asked him if he had ever seen that, the response being that he certainly never had seen that print before; but going to his book-shelves took down a volume, and opening it, asked his Lordship if he had ever seen that before. His expression may be better imagined than described, for here was a large and most characteristic engraving of the same portrait, which was that of Peter Jeannin, Finance Minister to Henry IV. in "Les Hommes Illustres," &c., par C. Perrault, 2 vols. Paris 1696-1700. Now let us look at the Carlyle "ideal" as to authenticity. Not one argument has been adduced which could make the least impression upon any unprejudiced person, for all that has been or can be said for it is, that it is supposed to have been bought (perhaps commissioned) by Lord Somerville somewhere about 1760. But even this may be doubted, considering the fact that it is not even alluded to in the catalogue of his historical and other portraits sent to Sir William Musgrave in 1797, by the Lord Somerville of that time. There its history begins and there it ends. To every one who has studied such matters, this portrait must always have had a most suspicious appearance—that unmeaning mass of white which Mr Tait is pleased to suggest as "a falling band"), an article of dress quite unknown till more than a century

after the Reformation—in fact, not till the time of the Commonwealth, or after it, and then very unusual, and when of this size apparently worn by lawyers or counsellors. Then the uncertain look of the dress, void of form and shape, a row of buttons, sleeves anything, just such as one finds in everything of the sort by ignorant manufacturers of portraits, in this case even more careless than usual, for it may be a jerkin or a tippet, such as was worn by certain Roman Catholic officials, with a row of false buttons in front; the collar might almost be called a smaller tippet of linen, and what looks like sleeves being simple folds of cloth. As to the way he holds the book, the less said the better; while the attempt to make out such an indistinct blur as the Geneva or any other Bible is ridiculous. How different all this, in such details, from genuine pictures by the old masters, I need tell Mr Carlyle's art scrutinisers Messrs Boehm and Merritt—no mistaking between a jerkin and a tippet in their works, especially at the time of Knox. This said Somerville Knox seems somehow to have required a deal of cooking up before it could be interpreted or understood as a portrait of the great Reformer; and a copy, we are told, was made from it by Mr Samuel Lawrence, in which he must have succeeded in taking away such character as the original possessed, and thus produced a portrait more satisfactory to Mr Carlyle, in being "of a much more refined appearance." Verily, a new and surprising method of producing genuine historical portraiture.

In the high estimate formed of this portrait by Mr Carlyle, I am sorry I cannot agree. The upper part of the head is no doubt well formed, but with such a weak jaw and uncertain chin, the person whose portrait it is would have proved quite powerless and incapable in the position which Knox occupied as a leader of men, forming their opinions and directing their actions. Common observation has led us to judge of a man's character by the shape of the lower part of the face, and we all practically understand what is meant by a jaw which is called weak. The correctness, however, of beliefs of this kind, which grows out of long observation, is often rendered probable by other considerations, and so it is here. For as the face is built upon the skull, it is quite consistent with our general views of the value of a large one as a mark of intellectual power, that a small jaw and chin should also be related to mental characteristics. Since the jaw is socketed to the base of the skull, it is clear that the size



THE TOSPE-CHIN PORTRAIT

THE TOSPE-CHIN PORTRAIT





of it in this position must regulate the size and form of the jaw; consequently the jaw, being related to the base of the skull, must therefore also be related to those mental qualities, whatever these may be, which are controlled by the portion of the brain lying in that position. As to the mouth in the portrait, it is essentially gross and sensual. In short, the portrait does not represent a man who would have carried a two-handed sword to protect his friend Wishart, and still less a man over whom the Earl of Morton could have pronounced his now famous eulogium, "There lies the man who never feared the face of man." About 1780, spurious portraits got into fashion, and continued so; and, if belonging to Scottish families, always preferred to undoubted works—hence the Miss Knox, Torphichen, Holyrood, and Somerville authentic pictures.

Before concluding, I must say a word about the way in which Mr Boehm pursued his researches after authentic engravings of John Knox. In the first place, it is much to be regretted that he was so ignorant of the subject; and secondly, that having undertaken the task, he did not do it in a more satisfactory manner, and take a little more trouble to gain information, which he could easily have acquired had he asked in the library instead of confining himself to the print-room of the British Museum, where the collection of Knox portraits must be a miserable one. If the whole collection was shown to Mr Boehm, it proves that it consists of two engravings from bad copies of the Beza portrait, and two entirely false. He says he saw four portraits, the first being the Carlyle and consequently Boehm ideal, "that really characteristic portrait in the possession of Lord Somerville. Two more, which are very like each other in quality, and quantity of beard and garments, are, one in the possession of a Miss Knox, Edinburgh (painted by De Vos), the other at Calder House (Lord Torphichen's).\* The fourth, which is very bad, wherein he is represented laughing like a *Hofnarr*, is from a painting in Hamilton Palace; but cannot have been *the* John Knox, as he has a turned-up nose, and looks funny." Of course it is not *the* John Knox, and nobody says so. Then why introduce it except to indulge in a weak joke, and to give Mr Carlyle the opportunity for another, that it was "to all appearance the professional Merry Andrew of that family." Surely Mr Boehm noticed, before alluding to it, a mark of interrogation engraved thus, "John Knox?" showing

\*Plate 5.

that it was not believed to be the Reformer; and had he cared, he could have seen Smith's "Iconographia Scotica" at the Museum, in which it appears along with its biography, and in the same volume would have found Beza's portrait given as *the* John Knox. Of what earthly use can such a flippant and empty report be on a matter where historical accuracy is concerned? The so-called De Vos picture and the Torphichen one are of a class of portraits common all over Scotland, being bad copies of the Beza or Hondius prints, and so unlike that they were long considered originals.



THE TORPHICHEN

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

ALSO INCLUDING

### A NOTICE OF THE VARIOUS ENGRAVED PORTRAITS OF JOHN KNOX AND GEORGE BUCHANAN.

#### KNOX.

PLATE 1. "Ioannes Cnoxus," a woodcut with border, by John Adam.

This is a facsimile of the portrait engraved on wood from the picture by Vaensoun, sent by King James VI., and used in the "Icones, id est Veræ Imagines Virorum. Doctrina Simul et Pietate Illustrium, &c." Theodoro Beza, Auctore. Geneva, 1580.

Of this portrait there have been various facsimile reproductions—

1st. "Iconographia Scotica," by John Smith. London, 1798.

A copper-plate without the border.

2d. The Works of John Knox, edited by David Laing. 6 vols. Edinburgh, 1846-64.

A woodcut, border in outline. (1st volume.)

3d. Review of the Works of John Knox, by the Rev. James Young. Edinburgh, 1864.

Oval, with autograph. No border.

4th. The Influence of the Reformation on the Scottish Character. Edinburgh, 1865.

A woodcut with full border. I am indebted to Mr David Douglas for the use of this beautiful facsimile as my illustration.

5. Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum, D. Pauli Freheri. Noribergæ, 1688. An engraved head (after Beza), on a reduced scale.

PLATE 2. "Ioannes Knoxus, Scotus."

A reproduction in facsimile from the portrait engraved by H. Hondius for "Præstantium aliquot Theologorum qui Rom: Antichristum præcipue oppugnarunt, Effigies"—Jac. Verheiden. Hagæ Comitum, 1602.

1. The Works of John Knox, edited by David Laing. 6 vols. 1846-64. A facsimile, slightly reduced in size (in 6th volume).

2. The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, by the Rev. Sam. Clark. London, 1654. A copy from the Hondius portrait.



Copies of the Hondius Portrait, *continued*—

3. The Scottish Nation, by W. Anderson. Edinburgh and London.  
A well engraved copy of the Hondius print, by W. Holl.
  4. Portraits of the Leading Reformers, by George Hume. Edinburgh, 1850. The portraits in this volume were lithographed by L. Gheimar. Knox is from the Hondius likeness.
- PLATE 3. "Iohannes Knoxus, Theologus Scotus. Obiit Anno MDLXXII. 24 December."  
The print, of which this is a reproduction, first appeared in the continuation of Boissard's Portraits, "Bibliotheca Chalcographica," Part vii., 1650. This work went through various editions, with additional Biographies and Portraits; the first part was published in 1597, the last, Part ix., at Heidelberg, 1669.
- PLATE 4. The Somerville Portrait, from a picture (see page 25).  
This is erroneously called John Knox, and is Mr Carlyle's ideal of our great Reformer. It was first figured in the 6th volume of
1. Knight's Gallery of Portraits. 7 vols. London, 1833-37. For which it was engraved by Holl.
  2. It was afterwards engraved among a series of Portraits of The Scottish Reformers. These are in ovals, with highly ornamented surroundings—under each portrait, a picture—John Knox is represented admonishing Queen Mary. The artist has given the Reformer a long beard, as in the Beza portrait.
  3. The same portrait is used in "Old England's Worthies." London, 1853.
- PLATE 5. (No 1.) The Torphichen Portrait, from the print engraved by Beugo for
1. The Life of John Knox, by Thomas M'Crie, D.D. Edinburgh, 1812.  
This picture is a poor copy of the Beza portrait. Although the hands and book are omitted in this print, I have preferred using it, being apparently the first engraving from the Torphichen picture. It has also been engraved for book illustration by Lizars, Cochrane, Cook, and others.
  2. John Knox, engraved by William Penny, 1828. This is a large print from the Torphichen picture.
  3. A lithographed head from the same portrait was done by John Ballantyne, R.S.A., among his set of Portraits of Illustrious Scotsmen.
- PLATE 5. (No. 2.) John Knox, from a picture in the possession of Joseph Williamson.
2. This portrait was also engraved in an oval by John Kay for The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland by John Knox. 4to. Edinburgh, 1790.
  3. Kay's Series of Original Portraits. 2 vols. 4to. Edinburgh, 1838.  
In this work another copy of the same portrait is used, having a hand and book introduced.
  4. Biographia Evangelica, by the Rev. Erasmus Middleton. 4 vols. London, 1780. In this is the so-called De Vos picture which was in the possession of Miss Knox, but, with the last mentioned, is only a bad copy of the Hondius portrait. These portraits have been frequently engraved.

## SPURIOUS PORTRAITS OF KNOX.

In addition to the Somerville picture there are other spurious or made-up portraits of the Scottish Reformer, the earliest of these seems to have been in

1. The *Historie of the Reformation in Religion within the Realm of Scotland* by John Knox. Edinburgh, 1732. The portrait for this work was engraved by R. Cooper, but no painter's name; he wears a close fitting cap. It is in an oval frame, on the upper margin "Joannes Knoxus, Scotus;" below is the same inscription as in the Hondius portrait.

2. There is a poor copy of this, looking the reverse way, with no engraver's name. It has also been engraved on a smaller scale by A. Bell.

A portrait in profile from a picture in Glasgow College, evidently made up from the Beza or Hondius portrait, is engraved in

The Scottish Gallery, by John Pinkerton. London, 1799.

1. In the same work is a portrait of Knox, "From an Original at Holyrood House," engraved by Roberts. Only the head from the picture is given. This is a good old picture, but represents a mathematician with a pair of compasses in his hand, a square on the table.

2. "John Knox. From the original in the Collection at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh." Engraved in stipple by R. Cooper for Portraits, &c.

Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, by Edmund Lodge, F.S.A. 8 vols. folio. London, 1821-28. After the publication of the octavo edition, in which were modern portraits, a fourth volume of these, printed on folio paper, was added to the above. 1834.

3. In the octavo edition of this work. 12 vols. London, 1829-35.

The same portrait is engraved by H. T. Ryall. In another edition in 10 vols. 1849-50. The same plate as in the last edition.

4. Bohn's Illustrated Library. The above work in 8 vols. The same portrait on a smaller scale.

5. The Holyrood Portrait has also been engraved by G. Stodart, with an ornamental border, and below a representation of Knox preaching.

There is a picture at Hamilton Palace of a John Knox, but not the Reformer. It is engraved in Smith's *Iconographia Scotica*. London, 1798.

## BUCHANAN.

PLATE 6. "Georgius Buchananus, Acta. sæc 76." From the print engraved by Theod. De Bry for "Icones Virorum Illustrium Doctrina et Eruditione, &c." J. J. Boissard. 3d part. 1598.

1. A copy of the above. Defrocher, excu.

2. Another copy, looking the reverse way. Esme de Boulonois, fecit.

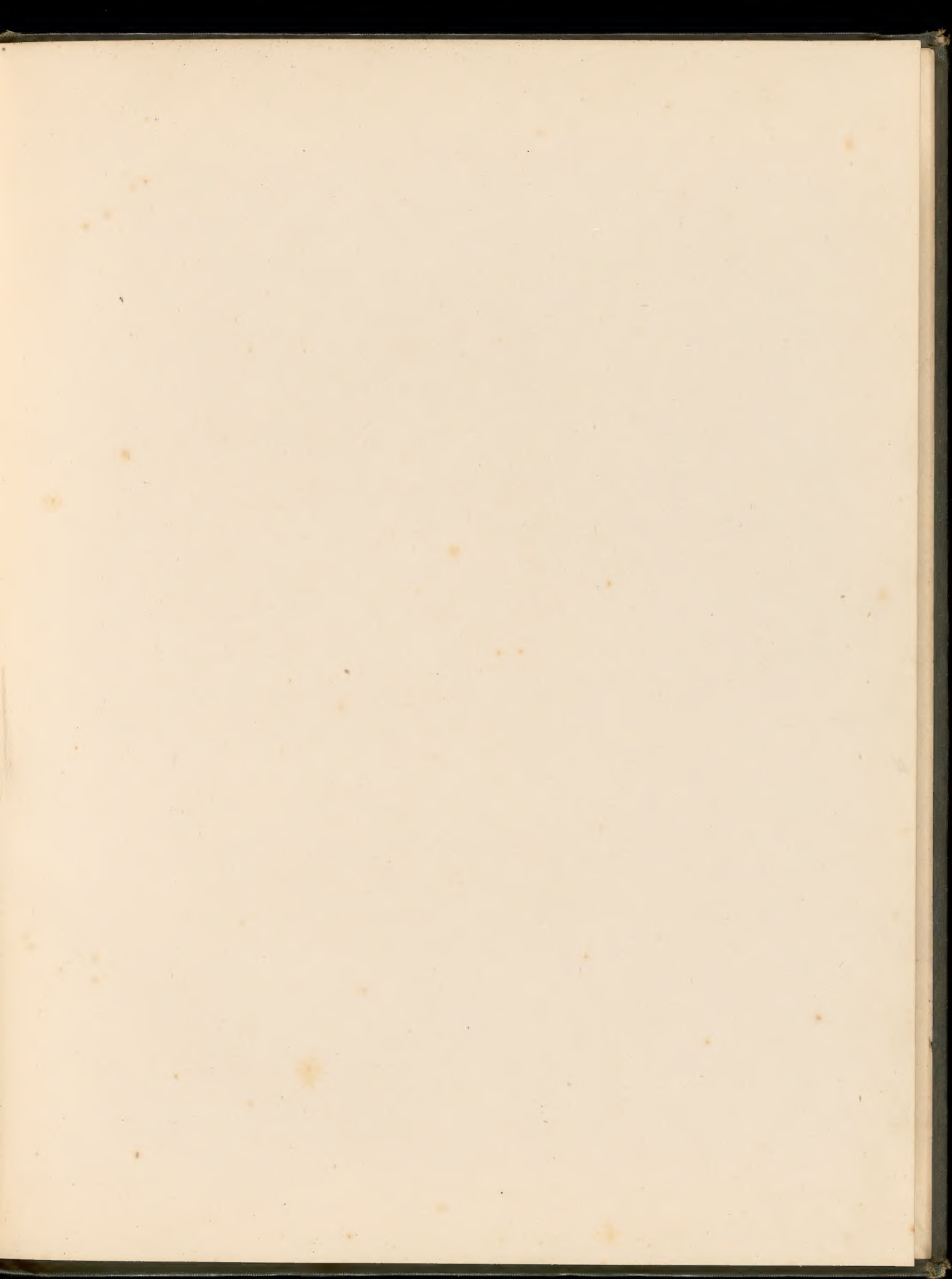
3. *Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum*. D. P. Freherus. Norbergæ. 1638. The Boissard portrait, on a small scale, looking the opposite way.

Copies of the Boissard Portrait, *continued*—

- 4 & 5. *Commentarius in Vitam Georgii Buchanani*. Edinburgh, 1702.  
A poor print, with the hands and book introduced, engraved by Ja. Clark. Copied from an earlier engraving (1698?), which is made up from the Boissard portrait. Neither the likeness nor the proportions of the head have been preserved.
6. *Buchanani Opera*, published at Leyden in 1725 (Burman's).  
Boissard's portrait, on a pedestal; likeness not good.
7. *University of Edinburgh*. This portrait corresponds in proportion with the Boissard likeness. It was engraved by Woolnoth for *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan*, by David Irving, LL.D. Second edition. Edinburgh, 1817.  
This picture has been frequently engraved, among others by Scott and Lizars. The head is well known from appearing on the cover of Blackwood's Magazine.

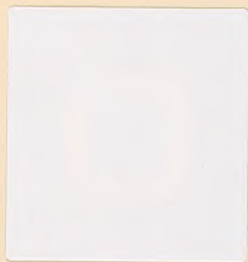
PLATE 7. "Georgii Buchanani, Scoti Poetae, Historici Eximii vera Effigies."

1. This is taken (on a slightly reduced scale) from a print by R. White from the Porbus portrait, then in the possession of D. Thomas Provy, and engraved for *The History of Scotland*, written in Latin, by George Buchanan. Folio. London, 1690. The same print was used for one or two later editions of the same work, 8vo, the plate folded. It has also been engraved on a small scale by A. Bell, and also by R. Cooper.
  2. *Georgii Buchanani, Scoti Poemata*. 12mo. Lugduni Batav. Elzevir, 1628. Front face in oval.
  3. *Georgii Buchanani, Scoti Poemata*. 12mo. Amsterdami. Elzevir, 1676. Front face.
  4. *Buchanani Opera*. Edinburgh, 1715 (Ruddiman's). Bust on a pedestal. Front face.
  5. *Houbraken's Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain*. London, 1743-52. From a picture by Porbus in the possession of Dr Mead. This print has been very frequently copied.
  6. W. Penny. A large engraving, having the hands introduced, holding a book. The head is from the Houbraken print.
  7. *Knight's Gallery of Portraits*. 7 vols. London, 1833-37.  
From a picture by Porbus belonging to the Royal Society. Engraved by E. Scriven. (1st volume.) It has also been engraved by J. B. Bird.
  8. *Old England's Worthies*. London, 1853.  
"George Buchanan. From the original picture by Titian in the possession of the Earl of Buchan." Engraved by T. Woolnoth at Edinburgh, anno 1809. This is not Buchanan, but Peter Jeannin, Finance Minister to Henry IV.
- At Hamilton Palace there is an absurd head, which has been engraved by Pinkerton as Buchanan.





87-B21982



GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE



3 3125 01450 5511



